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On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

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rarily at peace, and some stories indicate that visits paid by one tribe to another were not unknown. Such fetes and visits frequently ended in a general fight, but they gave an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and objects, and tended to break down any cultural differences which may have existed. Still more important factors in the establishment of cultural unity were the local industrial specialization, and the trade which certainly existed in pre-European times. At present it is difficult to determine the extent of specialization and trade. All the larger valleys, at least, were able to manufacture the objects that they used, but because of better materials, or of superior technical skill, particular valleys or islands were recognized as preëminent in the making of objects of a certain class. Thus some stone adzes were unquestionably manufactured almost everywhere in the group, but those made on the island of Ei Ao were of better material and were regularly exported. The great size of the Ei Ao workshops would seem to indicate quantity production, and it is evident that the workmen specialized in the finer and less bulky forms. Similarly the islands of Ua Huka and Ua Pou contained large deposits of rock suited to the manufacture of *poʻoi* pounders and exported many of these implements to other islands. The natives of Nuku Hiva knew how to manufacture a special kind of yellow paint or dye which was highly valued in the other islands, while those of Fatu Hiva were famed for their skill as carvers. There seems to have been no formal trade; there was no regular medium of exchange and even the existence of definite barter is doubtful. The transfer was in the nature of a gift exchange.

The material culture of the Marquesas as a whole was almost uniform, a fact the more remarkable in view of the dialectal differences between the Northern Division and the Southern Division of the group, and even between different tribes on the same island. The local differences which exist have been pointed out in the body of this report. The long contact between Europe and the Marquesas has resulted in the almost complete destruction of the native culture and the information obtainable regarding ancient customs and materials is often fragmentary. The use of certain objects in museum collections has been entirely forgotten and only the names of many other artifacts are remembered.

SCOPE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The scope of the present paper has been purposely restricted to an account of the material culture of the Marquesas. Certain obvious similarities and differences between the Marquesan culture and that found in other Polynesian islands have been pointed out, but a thorough comparative study has not been attempted. Detailed descriptions of the preparation of food and of the ritualistic observances accompanying the various industries have been omitted. They are discussed by my colleague, E. S. Craighill Handy (32).

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467 one man had started. If the builder quit in the middle of a job, the employer would have to start all over from the beginning with another craftsman. A part of the *tuhunga's* training was 467 the learning of the chants that accompanied the creation of 788 any object. A food bowl made without the proper magic ritual would be just a bowl. It would have no real place in the universe and consequently no value. Thus a man brought in to finish an uncompleted job would be able to tell where the other builder had left off in the actual construction of the house or canoe, but he would not know what magic had been used or how far the ritual had gone, and therefore would be unable to proceed with the task.

The magic chants were in part a formula for the work, so that if a man knew the charm he could not forget the process, but the ritual was also part of an actual creation, beginning with the genealogy of the universe, building step by step, and finally calling upon the essences of the things to make their contribution to the art of creation, which was regarded as a sexual act. By the aid of these spiritual powers, the craftsman built the object into the universe.

The rank of *tuhunga* tended to be hereditary, since a father was likely to teach his craft to his son, but it could be attained by anyone with skill. However, one had to pay for the privilege of studying under a particular master in any one of the crafts, and of being approved and graduated by him.

467 The prestige attached to skill was present in all occupations 554 and at all social levels. Even the chief would be proud to be classed as a *tuhunga*. The chiefs regularly maintained carvers and other master craftsmen as members of their households, the fact that they were rich enough to do this contributing to their prestige.

Distribution

● 438 As to technique of distribution, everyone had free access to all materials within the tribal territory. There was no personal [423] ownership of fishing banks or hunting places. However, as certain things occurred only in certain territories, various tribes

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specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The